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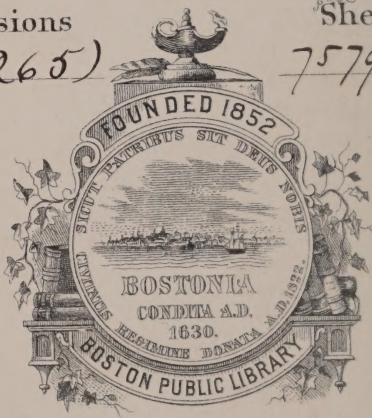

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PEACE CONVENTION,

HELD IN BOSTON,

IN THE MARLBORO' CHAPEL,

September 18, 19, & 20, 1838.

BOSTON:
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1838.

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PROCEEDINGS, &c.

Pursuant to a call, issued by a committee of arrangements, appointed at a preliminary meeting, a Convention of the friends of Peace assembled at Hall No. 1, of Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, on Tuesday, Sept. 18, 1838, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The Convention was called to order by SAMUEL J. MAY, chairman of the committee of arrangements. AMASA WALKER was appointed chairman *pro tem.*; and OLIVER JOHNSON, clerk *pro tem.*

On motion of S. J. MAY,

Voted, That a committee of five be appointed to nominate officers of the Convention, and that that committee be nominated by the Convention at large.

Whereupon,

Samuel J. May, George C. Beckwith, Geo. W. Benson, Albert G. Cummings, and John Owen were chosen.

On motion of H. C. WRIGHT,

Voted, To appoint a Committee of three to prepare a roll of the Convention, to be nominated by the chair.

Whereupon,

Wm. M. Chace, Wm. Bassett, and Joshua V. Himes were appointed.

The committee to nominate officers of the Convention, submitted a report, and the persons nominated were unanimously elected.

President, SIDNEY WILLARD.

Vice-Presidents, AMASA WALKER, EFFINGHAM L. CAPRON, WM. LADD, PELEG CLARKE.

Secretaries, JOHN OWEN, WM. BASSETT, OLIVER JOHNSON.

Finance Committee, Charles K. Whipple, *George Russell, Robert F. Walcott.

Business Committee, *Geo. C. Beckwith, Edmund Quincy, *Joshua P. Blanchard, Henry C. Wright, *Baron Stow, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Charles O. Kimball.

On motion, Voted to add 4 to the business committee. The following persons were added, viz.

*John Wilder, Abby Kelly, Susan Sisson, Thomas Davis.

On motion of P. R. RUSSELL,

Voted, That a committee be appointed to report rules and orders for the regulation of the Convention.

The following persons were appointed, viz: Philemon R. Russell, Samuel J. May, Alanson St. Clair, Maria W. Chapman.

The committee on rules and orders, submitted a report, which was adopted.

The business committee reported for the consideration of the Convention the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is contrary to the spirit and precepts of the gospel, repugnant to reason and to the

* These gentlemen afterwards resigned their seats in the Convention, and others were appointed to fill the vacancies thus occasioned in these committees, as will appear in the subsequent proceedings.

common sympathies and principles of human nature, and destructive to the peace and good order of society, *for man to take the life of man*, in any case, as a penalty for crime, or in defence of property, liberty, life or religion;—and that, consequently, to *threaten* or *endanger* human life, or make *preparations* for its destruction, is a sin against God, and detrimental to the best interests of individuals and nations.

After considerable discussion, the following resolution was proposed as a substitute by Amasa Walker:

Resolved, That human life is inviolable, and can never be taken by individuals or nations, without committing sin against God.

Pending the discussion on the foregoing resolution, the Convention adjourned.

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, 3 o'clock.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

George C. Beckwith, Baron Stow, and John Wilder withdrew from the Convention, on the ground of the admission of women to take part in its proceedings. The following persons were chosen to fill the vacancies thus occasioned in the business committee, viz: George W. Benson, Lewis C. Gunn, and Albert G. Cummings.

On motion of H. C. Wright,

Voted, That any persons present be allowed to take part in the discussions of the Convention.

Wendell Phillips was appointed on the business committee, in place of Charles O. Kimball, who was excused at his own request.

The resolution introduced in the morning on the inviolability of human life, was taken up for discussion; and after remarks by H. C. Wright,

—— Powers, and others, the Convention adjourned to meet in the Marlboro' Chapel, at 7 o'clock this evening.

TUESDAY EVENING, 7 o'clock.

The Convention met according to adjournment.

The discussion of the resolution introduced in the morning, was continued by Charles Follen, Wendell Phillips, and others, in opposition to its passage, and by Lewis C. Gunn and Henry C. Wright in favor.

Adjourned to meet in Hall No. 1, to-morrow, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

WEDNESDAY MORNING, 9 o'clock.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment.

On motion of EDMUND QUINCY,

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to consider and report on the right of all persons conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms to be exempted from military duty.

Edmund Quincy, Elisha James Sherman, and Wm. T. Briggs were appointed.

On motion of DAVID CAMBELL,

Resolved, That a committee of two be appointed by this Convention to bring in a report upon the demoralizing influences of the militia system.

†Joshua P. Blanchard and David Cambell were appointed.

On motion of CHARLES SIMMONS,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to report on the tendency and effects of the pacific principle.

† J. P. Blanchard afterwards resigned his seat in the Convention and did not act on this committee.

Charles Simmons, E. W. Robinson, and Thomas Haskell were appointed.

On motion of H. C. Wright,

Resolved, That a Committee of two be appointed to prepare a Report on the inviolability of human life.

Henry C. Wright and Samuel J. May were appointed.

William M. Chace was appointed on the Finance Committee, in place of George Russell, who resigned his seat in the Convention, for the reason that women had been admitted to take part in its proceedings.

The discussion of the resolution introduced yesterday morning, on the inviolability of human life, was continued by Samuel J. May, Amasa Walker, and Philemon R. Russell, in the affirmative, and by George Russell and Alanson St. Clair in opposition.

E. S. Gannett moved an indefinite postponement of the whole subject, and made some remarks in support of his motion; after which William Lloyd Garrison addressed the Convention in opposition to the motion, and in favor of the resolution: whereupon the previous question was called for. The call being sustained, the question was then put on the Resolution under consideration, which was carried.

The Convention then adjourned to 3 o'clock, P. M.

Wednesday Afternoon, 3 o'clock.

Reports were received on the following subjects:—From Charles Simmons, on the tendency and effects of the pacific principle; from David Cambell, on the demoralizing tendency of the militia system; from Henry C. Wright, on the inviolability of human life; all which were referred to the business committee.

The following resolutions, reported by the business committee, were adopted, viz :—

Resolved, That the time has now arrived for the organization of a Society, based upon the principle of the inviolability of human life, and of non-resistance to enemies, by force and arms, in all cases.

Resolved, That a committee of nine be appointed to draft a Constitution, and prepare a Declaration of Sentiments.

The following persons were appointed to constitute said committee, viz: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Samuel J. May, Maria W. Chapman, Edmund Quincy, Wm. Bassett, Abby Kelly, Peleg Clarke, Henry C. Wright, and James P. Boyce.

The following resolution, presented by the business committee, after being supported by J. V. Himes, H. C. Wright, G. W. Benson, Wm. Adams, and P. R. Russell, and opposed by Amasa Walker and A. St. Clair, was adopted :

Resolved, That the existence of a martial spirit, of a militia system, a standing army, of armed ships, of forts, arsenals, military schools and academies, in any nation, instead of being the means of security and protection, does in fact constitute one of the most fruitful sources of danger to its social and civil institutions ;— therefore, all who would promote the virtue, peace, and order of society, perpetuate the blessings of civil and religious liberty, and extend them to all mankind, should cease, at once, their connection with all military systems, and, by christian means, seek their immediate and entire abolition.

The business committee then submitted the following resolution, viz :—

Resolved, That it is derogatory to the true dignity and glory of man, and wholly unworthy a moral and intelligent being, to assume the *arms* and profession of a soldier, and no man desirous of promoting the regeneration and redemption of mankind, can consistently practice, study or countenance the military art and profession.

After being discussed by G. W. Benson and Wm. Adams in favor, this resolution was adopted.

The following resolution, from the business committee, was then taken up for discussion, viz:

Resolved, That, as the principle of non-resistance to injuries is founded on the spirit and the direct commands of the gospel, therefore, to doubt its safety and expediency is to deny the wisdom and goodness of Jehovah.

After remarks from Wendell Phillips, in opposition, and by Wm. Ladd, Wm. Adams and Charles Simmons in favor, and pending the consideration of the resolution, the Convention adjourned.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, 7 o'clock.

The Convention assembled pursuant to adjournment.

The resolution under consideration at the adjournment of the afternoon session, was, without further debate, adopted:

The following resolution, presented by the committee on business, was supported by A. St. Clair, Wm. Ladd, and E. W. Robinson, and adopted:

Resolved, That the books, pictures, and toys at present used in the education of children and youth, lauding the bloody and savage exploits of heroes, alias wholesale murderers, are among the most effectual means of laying the foundation of slavery, anarchy, bloodshed and ruin.

On motion of SAMUEL J. MAY,

Resolved, That a committee of three be raised to report to this Convention upon the great waste of property and the demoralizing effects incident to our military peace establishment.

Wm. Ladd, Samuel E. Cowes, and E. W. Robinson were appointed to constitute said committee.

The committee on the Constitution made a report which was accepted.

The Convention then proceeded to the consideration of the Constitution reported by the committee, each article of which was separately taken up, discussed, and adopted. The question on the adoption of the whole, after having been discussed by W. Adams, G. W. F. Mellen, W. L. Garrison, A. St. Clair, and others, was taken by ayes and noes, and carried, 28 in the affirmative, and 15 in the negative, as follows,—viz :

Ayes.—Wm. Bassett, Mary B. Bassett, George W. Benson, James P. Boyce, Effingham L. Capron, Maria W. Chapman, Peleg Clarke, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Lewis C. Gunn, Thomas Haskell, Oliver Johnson, Mary A. W. Johnson, Abby Kelly, N. B. Loomis, Edmund Quincy, E. W. Robinson, Sarah Southwick, Phillis Salem, Hannah L. Stickney, Daniel Shaw, Charles Simmons, Anne W. Weston, Henry C. Wright, Robert F. Walcott, Elizabeth L. B. Wright, Charles K. Whipple, Joseph A. Whitmarsh, Wm. West—28.

Noes.—Charles C. Briggs, Mary E. Chase, Alanson St. Clair, George L. Clark, S. E. Cowes, Ezra S. Gannett, Wm. W. Johnson, Beriah Loomis, Wm. Ladd, George W. F. Mellen, John Owen, Wendell Phillips, Hannah Robie, Joseph Southwick, Isaac Winslow—15.

The Convention then adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING, 9 o'clock.

The convention again met according to adjournment.

The committee on the expensiveness of Peace Establishments presented a report, accompanied with resolutions; the former of which was referred to the business committee, and the latter adopted as follows:

1. Resolved, That military establishments in time of peace, are extravagant in their expenses, productive of vice, destructive to human life, and, so far from preventing war, are one of the principal causes of it.

2. Resolved, That the common opinion, that 'the best way to preserve peace is to be always prepared for war,' though sanctioned by Washington, is contrary to fact, and should be immediately abandoned.

3. Resolved, That professed ministers of the gospel, who act as chaplains in military establishments, are countenancing and encouraging war, intemperance, and lewdness.

On motion of Lewis C. Gunn, the following resolution, passed on Wednesday morning, was reconsidered:

Resolved, That, as the principle of non-resistance to injuries is founded on the spirit and direct commands of the gospel, therefore to doubt its safety and expediency is to deny the wisdom and goodness of Jehovah.

The same gentleman offered as a substitute to this, the following resolution, which was passed.

Resolved, That, as the principle of non-resistance to injuries is founded on the spirit and the direct commands of the gospel; therefore, to doubt that it is at present more safe and expedient to act on this principle than on that of physical defence, is to question the wisdom and goodness of Jehovah.

On motion of Peleg Clarke, it was

Voted, That all persons who last evening recorded their votes for or against the Constitution, be allowed to withdraw them, and that all those who did not vote on that question, be permitted now to record their names.

Whereupon, Geo. L. Clark, Alanson St.

Clair, and H. B. Louge withdrew their names from the negative.

J. V. Himes and David Cambell added their votes to the affirmative.

An animated discussion here took place on the nature and tendency of voluntary associations, in which Edmund Quincy, H. C. Wright, A. B. Alcott and others participated.

The business committee presented the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That every thing which tends to foster among the people the spirit of war, and to hold up for admiration the bloody achievements of military heroes, should be discountenanced by all the friends, of peace, and that, consequently, we feel it to be our duty to express our disapprobation of the efforts which a portion of this community are now making to complete the monument on BUNKER HILL.

On motion of SAMUEL J. MAY, it was then,

Resolved, That, while our perceptions of the truth as it is in Jesus impel us to announce other principles and pursue other measures than those pursued by other friends of peace, we feel no hostility to them, but cordially wish them success in all their endeavors to promote the cause of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

The committee on the right of persons conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms to be exempted from military duty, presented their report, and offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted, and referred to the committee on business.

Whereas, it is contrary to natural right, subversive of christian liberty, and in violation of the spirit of our national institutions, for men to be compelled by law to do what they conscientiously believe to be morally wrong:

Therefore, Resolved, That the laws of the United States and the several States requiring men, conscien-

tiously scrupulous of bearing arms, to perform military duty, are unjust in their principle and unequal in their operation.

Resolved, That it is the duty of all friends of peace and of every man jealous of the rights of conscience, to do all that he rightfully can, by petition or otherwise, to procure the repeal of all such laws.

Resolved, That until such repeal is accomplished, it is incumbent upon every follower of christian peace, humbly, but firmly, to refuse obedience to those human laws which they believe to be in derogation of the eternal laws of the Most High.

The committee for drafting a Constitution and preparing a Declaration of Sentiments, asked leave to defer their report on a Declaration of Sentiments to the afternoon session, which was granted.

The Convention adjourned to meet at 2 1-2 o'clock, P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON, 2 1-2 o'clock.

The Convention again met.

William Lloyd Garrison, chairman of the committee for that purpose, reported a Declaration of Sentiments, which, after discussion, was adopted by the following vote:

Ayes—A. B. Alcott, Wm. Bassett, Geo. W. Benson, E. L. Capron, Wm. M. Chace, Maria W. Chapman, Thos. Davis, W. L. Garrison, Roswell Goss, L. C. Gunn, Thos. Haskell, Abraham Haskell, Joshua V. Himes, Mary A. W. Johnson, Oliver Johnson, Abby Kelly, Albert Kelly, Edmund Quincy, Sarah H. Southwick, Thankful Southwick, Anna R. Southwick, Hannah L. Stickney, Samuel Tyson, Wm. West, Anne Warren Weston, Joseph A. Whitmarsh, Robert F. Wolcott, H. C. Wright —27.

Noes—S. E. Cowes, Wm. Ladd, B. Loomis G. W. F. Mellen, John Owen—5.

On motion of H. C. WRIGHT,

Voted, That a committee be appointed to procure the Declaration of Sentiments to be engrossed upon parchment; and that all members of the Convention, whether present or absent, have liberty to sign it.

William Bassett was appointed that committee.

On motion of H. C. Wright, it was

Voted, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare and cause to be published the proceedings of the Convention.

W. L. Garrison, O. Johnson, and Maria W. Chapman were appointed.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

JOHN OWEN,
WM. BASSETT,
OLIVER JOHNSON, } *Secretaries.*

CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, the penal code of the first covenant, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,' has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and, under the new or second covenant, the forgiveness instead of the punishment of enemies has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever;

And whereas, our Saviour has left us an example, that we should follow his steps, in forbearance, submission to injury, and non-resistance even when life itself is at stake;

And whereas, the weapons of a true christian are not carnal, but spiritual, and therefore

mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds;

And whereas, the history of mankind is crowded with evidences, proving that all attempts to change the heart of man by physical force have been abortive:

And whereas, we profess to belong to a kingdom not of this world, which is without local, geographical, or national boundaries, in which there is no division of caste, or inequality of sex, and which is destined to break in pieces and consume allother kingdoms:—

Therefore, we, the undersigned, deem it to be our privilege, in full view of the solemn responsibilities resting upon us in consequence of this procedure, to organize ourselves into an association for the promotion of peace on earth and good will among men, and for that purpose do adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

Article I. This Society shall be called the New England Non-Resistance Society.

Art. II. The members of this Society agree in opinion, that no man, or body of men, however constituted, or by whatever name called, have a right to take the life of man as a penalty for transgression; that no one, who professes to have the spirit of Christ, can consistently sue a man at law for redress of injuries, or thrust any evil-doer into prison, or fill any office in which he would come under obligation to execute penal enactments—or take any part in the military service—or acknowledge allegiance to any human government—or justify any man in fighting in defence of property, liberty, life or religion; that he cannot engage in or countenance any

plot or effort to revolutionize, or change, by physical violence, any government, however corrupt or oppressive; that he will obey 'the powers that be,' except in those cases in which they bid him violate his conscience—and then, rather than to resist, he will meekly submit to the penalty of disobedience; and that, while he will cheerfully endure all things for Christ's sake, without cherishing even the desire to inflict injury upon his persecutors, yet he will be bold and uncompromising for God, in bearing his testimony against sin, in high places and in low places, until righteousness and peace shall reign in all the earth, and there shall be none to molest or make afraid.

ART. III. Any person, without distinction of sex or color, who consents to the principles of this Constitution, and who contributes to the funds of this Society, may become a member and be entitled to vote at its meetings.

ART. IV. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee, composed of the above, and not less than seven members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.

ART. V. The Executive Committee, a majority of whom shall be located in Boston, shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, and in the offices of secretary or treasurer, employ agents, determine the compensation of agents and secretaries, direct the treasurer in the application of all monies, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make all arrangements for the meetings of the Society, and shall hold

stated meetings, in furtherance of the objects of the Society.

Art. VI. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and, in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, and, in their absence, a President *pro tem.* The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall give notice of all meetings of the Society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The treasurer shall collect subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

Art. VII. The annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the accounts of the treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient.

Art. VIII. Any Non-Resistance Society, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, and be entitled to representation at its meetings.

Art. IX. The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two thirds of the members present; provided the amendments proposed have been submitted, at least one month previously to the annual meeting, to the Executive Committee.

ROLL OF THE CONVENTION.

Massachusetts.

Boston.

A. Bronson Alcott,
Clarissa Adams,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Phillis Salem,
N. B. Loomis,
Sarah Warfield,
Eliza A. Farquahar,
Vienna Johnson,
Thomas Thompson, Jr.
C. O. Kimball,
Lemuel Capen,*
Mary A. W. Johnson,
Charles K. Whipple,
Joshua V. Himes,
Oliver Johnson,
Edmund Quincy,
Elizabeth Hayward
Hugh B. Louge,
Robert F. Walcott,
Alanson St. Clair,
Experience D. Lindsey,
Henry G. Chapman,
Willard Sears,
Amasa Walker,
Sarah Hayward,
Hannah Robin,
Thankful Southwick,
Maria W. Chapman,
Baron Stowe,*
Harrison Gray,
Joseph A. Whitmarsh,
Joseph Southwick,
H. W. Day,
G. W. F. Mellen,
James Rogers,
Mary Rogers,
George C. Beckwith,*
Deborah Rogers,
Ezra S. Gannett,
Joseph K. Hayes,
B. Loomis,
Sylvia Cambell,
Francis Jackson,
William F. Ball,
Eliza R. Campbell,
Roswell Goss,
Wendell Phillips,
David Cambell,
Wm. Lloyd Garrison,
Charles Hadwin,
Isaac Knapp,
Wm. West.

Lowell.

Nathaniel Thurston.

Uxbridge.

Effingham L. Capron.

East Cambridge.

Hannah Jewett.

Weymouth.

Deborah Weston,
Anne W. Weston.

Lynn.

Isaac Bassett,
Wm. Bassett,
Aroline A. Chase,
Mary B. Bassett,
Jonathan Buffum,
Hannah Buffum,
Abigail Buffum,
P. R. Russell,
Wm. B. Oliver,
George Little,
Abba C. Newhall,
John B. Chase,
James P. Boyce.

Newburyport.

Elizabeth L. B. Wright,
Henry C. Wright,
Wm. Ashley, Jr.
Hannah L. Stickney,
Richard Plummer.

Fall River.

Absalom Bowen,
Harvey Chase.

Salem.
George H. Smith,
Wm. Ashley.
Cambridge.
Sidney Willard,
John Owen,
Silas F. Plimpton,
David Mack,
Henry Ware, Jr.
J. W. Parker.
Unity.
Nancy B. Tingley,
John Gregory.
Wrentham.
Howard Mann,
Elisha Fiske,
P. Sanford,
David Sanford.
Gloucester.
Thomas Haskell,
Charles Spear,
Abraham Haskell.
Wayland.
Joseph A. Robey,
James Draper.
Dorchester.
Richard Clapp.
New Bedford.
John M. Spear.
Middleton.
John M. Strickland.
Princeton.
Abram Everett.
North Marshfield.
Elizabeth Lewis,
Almira Little,
Marcia E. Phillips,
Rebecca A. Nye,
Samuel Cordis.
Scituate.
Charles C. Briggs,
Samuel J. May.
Andover.
George W. Cleaveland,
John Smith.
Milton.
Charles Follen.
Marshfield.
Nathaniel Phillips.
Mendon.
Adin Ballou.
Millbury.
Abby Kelly,
Albert Kelly.
West Boylston.
Elias Davis.
West Bridgewater.
Joseph King, Jr.
Elizabeth King.
Freetown.
E. W. Robinson.
Nantucket.
George Bradburn.
Abington.
Daniel Shaw,
Elisha Sherman.
Concord.
John Wilder.*
Danvers.
Isaac Winslow.
Kingston.
George Russell.*

RHODE ISLAND.

Providence.
George L Clarke,
Sarah A. Chace,
Mary E. Chace,
Wm. Chace,
Wm. M. Chace,
Thomas Davis.
South Kingston.
Jeremiah Foster.
Westerly.
Charles Perry.
Scituate.
George J. Adams,
W. T. Briggs.

Pawtucket.
Rufus Bliss,
Wm. Adams,
Nancy L. Brayton,
Daniel Mitchell,
Mary Hill,
Rachel Smith,
Susan Sisson,
Avis Sisson,
Oren Lindsey,
Scott Smith,
Charles Simmons.
Charlestown.
John Foster.
Coventry.
Peleg Clarke.

CONNECTICUT.

Brooklyn.
George W. Benson.
Haddam.
Selden Huntington.
Stratford.
George C. Shephard.

MAINE.

Hallowell.
R. G. Lincoln,*
E. Thurston,*
Ebenezer Dole.*
Minot.
Wm. Ladd.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Mason.
A. G. Cummings,
Cynthia Cummings.
New Ipswich.
Wm. W. Johnson,
Gilmanton.
W. H. Hayward.
Weare.
Daniel Gore, 2d.
Portsmouth.
S. E. Cowes,
Abigail H. Folsom.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Philadelphia.
Lewis C. Gunn.
Abington.
Mary Fitzwater,
Samuel Tyson.

[The foregoing list is doubtless very imperfect. It is next to impossible in such a Convention to obtain the name and place of residence of every member.]

*Withdrew on account of the admission of women.

Declaration of Sentiments,

ADOPTED BY THE

PEACE CONVENTION,

Held in Boston, September 18, 19, & 20, 1838.

ASSEMBLED in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth, and good will among men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a DECLARATION, expressive of the principles we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful, universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government, by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one KING and LAWGIVER, one JUDGE and RULER of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to fight; in which MERCY and TRUTH are met together, and RIGHTEOUSNESS and PEACE have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, or division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are PEACE, its exactors RIGHTEOUSNESS, its walls SALVATION, and its gates PRAISE; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are

all mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The PRINCE OF PEACE, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. GOD COMMENDETH HIS LOVE TOWARD US, IN THAT WHILE WE WERE YET SINNERS, CHRIST DIED FOR US.

We conceive, that if a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If *he* may use a dagger or a pistol, *they* may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistracy, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic troublers of the public peace, or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing with impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the

world are approvingly ordained of God, and that THE POWERS THAT BE in the United States. in Russia, in Turkey, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed, that THE POWERS THAT BE, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit, or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies: therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God: and, therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against every naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chieftains and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force and arms, on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the bayonet, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its incumbent the obligation to compel men to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death. We therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of

authority. If *we* cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we elect *others* to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot sue any man at law, to compel him by force to restore any thing which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, AN EYE FOR AN EYE, AND A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH, has been abrogated by JESUS CHRIST; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. VENGEANCE IS MINE—I WILL REPAY, SAITH THE LORD.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidences, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful dispositions of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being gentle, harmless, long-suffering, and abundant in mercy; that it is only the meek who shall inherit the earth, for the violent who resort to the sword are destined to perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy,—of safety to property, life and liberty,—of public quietude and private enjoyment,—as well as on the ground of allegiance

to HIM who is KING OF KINGS, and LORD OF LORDS,—we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, is armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no jacobinical doctrines. The spirit of jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence, and murder. It neither fears God, nor regards man. *We* would be filled with the spirit of CHRIST. If we abide by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disorderly, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work: we shall submit to every ordinance of man, FOR THE LORD'S SAKE; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no case resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of GOD; to assail iniquity, in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world will have become the kingdoms of our LORD and of his CHRIST, and he shall reign for ever.

It appears to us a self-evident truth, that, whatever the gospel is designed to destroy at any period of the world, being contrary to it, ought now to be abandoned. If, then, the time is predicted, when swords shall be beaten into ploughshares, and spears into pruning-hooks, and men

shall not learn the art of war any more, it follows that all who manufacture, sell, or wield those deadly weapons, do thus array themselves against the peaceful dominion of the SON OF GOD on earth.

Having thus briefly, but frankly, stated our principles and purposes, we proceed to specify the measures we propose to adopt, in carrying our object into effect.

We expect to prevail, through THE FOOLISHNESS OF PREACHING—striving to commend ourselves unto every man's conscience, in the sight of GOD. From the press, we shall promulgate our sentiments as widely as practicable. We shall endeavor to secure the co-operation of all persons, of whatever name or sect. The triumphant progress of the cause of TEMPERANCE and of ABOLITION in our land, through the instrumentality of benevolent and voluntary associations, encourages us to combine our own means and efforts for the promotion of a still greater cause. Hence, we shall employ lecturers, circulate tracts and publications, form societies, and petition our state and national governments, in relation to the subject of UNIVERSAL PEACE. It will be our leading object to devise ways and means for effecting a radical change in the views, feelings and practices of society, respecting the sinfulness of war, and the treatment of enemies.

In entering upon the great work before us, we are not unmindful that, in its prosecution, we may be called to test our sincerity, even as in a fiery ordeal. It may subject us to insult, outrage, suffering, yea, even death itself. We anticipate no small amount of misconception, misrepresentation, calumny. Tumults may arise

against us. The ungodly and violent, the proud and pharisaical, the ambitious and tyrannical, principalities and powers, and spiritual wickedness in high places, may combine to crush us. So they treated the MESSIAH, whose example we are humbly striving to imitate. If we suffer with him, we know that we shall reign with him. We shall not be afraid of their terror, neither be troubled. Our confidence is in the LORD ALMIGHTY, not in man. Having withdrawn from human protection, what can sustain us but that faith which overcomes the world? We shall not think it strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try us, as though some strange thing had happened unto us; but rejoice, inasmuch as we are partakers of CHRIST'S sufferings. Wherefore, we commit the keeping of our souls to GOD, in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. FOR EVERY ONE THAT FORSAKES HOUSES, OR BRETHREN, OR SISTERS, OR FATHER, OR MOTHER, OR WIFE, OR CHILDREN, OR LANDS, FOR CHRIST'S SAKE, SHALL RECEIVE A HUNDRED FOLD, AND SHALL INHERIT EVERLASTING LIFE.

Firmly relying upon the certain and universal triumph of the sentiments contained in this DECLARATION, however formidable may be the opposition arrayed against them,—in solemn testimony of our faith in their divine origin,—we hereby affix our signatures to it; commending it to the reason and conscience of mankind, giving ourselves no anxiety as to what may befal us, and resolving in the strength of the LORD GOD calmly and meekly to abide the issue.

[Note. The signatures will be published, as soon as they shall have been obtained in accordance with the following vote of the Convention, viz :—'That a committee be appointed to procure the Declaration of Sentiments to be engrossed upon parchment; and that all members of the Convention, whether present or absent, have liberty to sign it.']

☞ Those members of the Convention who intend to affix their names to this instrument are requested to give notice immediately to Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Corresponding Secretary of the New England Non-Resistance Society. Measures will then be taken forthwith to give all such an opportunity to accomplish their wishes.

Officers of the N. E. Non-Resistance Society.

PRESIDENT.

Effingham L. Capron, *Uxbridge, Mass.*

VICE PRESIDENTS.

George W. Benson, *Brooklyn, Conn.*
Peleg Clarke, *Coventry, R. I.*
Henry C. Wright, *Newburyport, Mass.*

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Wm. Lloyd Garrison, *Boston.*

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Maria W. Chapman, *Boston.*

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Charles K. Whipple, *Boston.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Joshua V. Himes, *Boston.*
William Bassett, *Lynn.*
Oliver Johnson, *Boston.*
Anne W. Weston, *Weymouth.*
Thankful Southwick, *Boston.*

APPENDIX.

SYNOPSIS OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NON-RESISTANCE SOCIETY.

The dispensation of retaliation, which required an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth,* and life for life, has been abolished† by Jesus Christ, 'God having provided some better thing for us.'

The new dispensation commands universal love, and entire forgiveness for every offence; and by necessary inference from this, forbids all punishment, and all detriment to the body, mind, or estate of any human being.

I cannot, therefore, use any measures whatever, directly or indirectly, to punish any enemy, either of myself, my friends, or the community.

Nor have I, who am myself a sinner, received any authority to punish my fellow-sinners for offences committed against God. It is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay,' saith the Lord.

All human governments at present existing are based on the principles of violence and retaliation. Therefore I cannot approve or maintain any of them.

The Constitution of the United States makes provision for punishment, military defence, and war. Therefore I cannot promise allegiance to it.

Every member of our government, Legislative, Judicial, and Executive, must promise to support this Constitution. Therefore I cannot hold any one of these offices, nor depute another to hold it for me.

* Exod. 21st, 23—25.—Lev. 24th, 19, 20.—Deut. 19th, 21. † Matt. 5th, 38—41.

THE JEWISH CONTRASTED WITH THE CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.

Extracts from 'An Inquiry into the accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity—by Jonathan Dymond.'

It should be remarked, in relation to the injunctions which follow, that Jesus Christ repeatedly refers to that less pure and less peaceable system of morality which the law of Moses had inculcated, and contradistinguishes it from his own.

'Ye have heard that it *hath* been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but *I* say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.'—'Ye have heard that it *hath* been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor, and hate thine enemy; but *I* say unto you, Love your enemies; bless them that curse you; do good to them that hate you; and pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you: for if ye love them only which love you, what reward have ye?'

There is an extraordinary emphasis in the form of these prohibitions and injunctions. They are not given in an insulated manner. They inculcate the obligations of Christianity as *peculiar* to itself. The previous system of retaliation is introduced for the purpose of prohibiting it, and of distinguishing more clearly and forcibly the pacific nature of the new dispensation.

It was sufficient for the law of Moses, that men maintained love towards their neighbors; towards an enemy they were at liberty to indulge rancor and resentment. But Christianity says, 'If ye love them only which love you, what reward have ye?—Love your enemies.'

Now what sort of love does that man bear towards his enemy, who runs him through with a bayonet? We contend that the distinguishing duties of Christianity must be sacrificed when war is carried on. The question is between the abandonment of these duties and the abandonment of war, for both cannot be retained.

It is, however, objected that the prohibitions, 'Resist not evil,' &c., are figurative; and that they do not mean that no injury is to be punished, and no outrage to be repelled. It has been asked, with complacent exultation, what would these advocates of peace say to him who struck them on the right cheek? Would they turn to him the other? What would these patient moralists say to him who robbed them of a coat? Would they give him a cloak also? What would these philanthropists say to him who asked them to lend a hundred pounds? Would they not turn away? This is *argumentum ad hominem;* one example amongst the many, of that lowest and most dishonest of all modes of intellectual warfare, which consists in exciting the feelings instead of convincing the understanding. It is, however, some satisfaction, that the motive to the adoption of this mode of warfare is itself an evidence of a bad cause; for what honest reasoner would produce only a laugh, if he were able to produce conviction? But I must ask, in my turn, what do these objectors say *is* the meaning of the precepts? What *is* the meaning of 'resist not evil?' Does it mean to allow bombardment, devastation, murder? If it does not mean to allow all this, it does not mean to allow war. What again do the objectors say is the meaning of 'love your enemies,' or of 'do good to them

that hate you?' Does it mean 'ruin their commerce'—'sink their fleets'—'plunder their cities'—'shoot through their hearts?' If the precept does not mean all this, it does not mean war.

* * * *

It has sometimes been urged that Christ paid taxes to the Roman government at a time when it was engaged in war, and when, therefore, the money that he paid would be employed in its prosecution. This we shall readily grant; but it appears to be forgotten by our opponents that, if this proves war to be lawful, they are proving too much. These taxes were thrown into the exchequer of the State, and a part of the money was applied to purposes of a most iniquitous and shocking nature; sometimes probably to the gratification of the emperor's personal vices and to his gladiatorial exhibitions, &c., and certainly to the support of a miserable idolatry. If, therefore, the payment of taxes to such a government proves an approbation of war, it proves an approbation of many other enormities. Moreover, the argument goes too far in relation even to war; for it must necessarily make Christ approve of all the Roman wars, without distinction of their justice or injustice—of the most ambitious, the most atrocious, and the most aggressive; and these even our objectors will not defend. The payment of tribute by our Lord was accordant with his usual system of avoiding to interfere in the civil or political institutions of the world.

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